/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
● [513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centi-
meters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabildeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
● [513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 [854] [513] [286] Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in hammocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.

415 [286] Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which contain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.

[353] [273] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see

[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/

412 352 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 415 264 [322] [177] Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 515 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, considering that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the

000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
● [513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Páez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[234] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
● [513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth evenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

4:Bernal Villa--16 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

376
291

372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[777] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

4:Bernal Villa--47 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
●513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fluhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[156] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

● [513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal land.